2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

lack this characteristic structure, and even they have as its functional equivalent an enclosed space taboo to women and children.

Among the *Eastern Bororo* the northern and southern halves of the village circle are associated each with one of the moieties and their constituent clans. At Kejara a second principle of dual division appears: besides the axis that separates the northern from the southern moiety there is another perpendicular to the Vermelho River, creating an Upstream and a Downstream half. Here tradition alleges the pristine existence of several concentric house circles, with residences of the same clan behind one another.

The family house type, though always palm-thatched, differs according to the time of year. During the dry season it is of conical shape and erected with a central pole or tree against which other poles lean. In the frame put up for the rainy season, a crossbeam supporting other poles rests on two forked sticks (pls. 83, *bottom;* 84); generally this hut rises directly from the ground, but occasionally it is put on piles. The erection of the residence is a man's duty.

The women within a house belong to the same clan, each family having its own fire, so that every newly married girl acquires a separate fireplace. The furniture includes mats to sit and sleep on, for even outdoors these Indians avoid resting on the bare ground, over which they spread palm leaves or the branches of a tree. However, there are also platform beds rising about 12 to 16 inches (30 to 40 cm.) above the ground and covered with a layer of palm-leaf stems. Mats or skins serve as blankets. Hammocks are unknown. A hut contains pots, spits for roasting, rocks for breaking hard seeds, spindles, and bivalve shells used as spoons and scissors. A mother will put her baby in the central concavity of a mat suspended by four cords from opposite sides, a fifth enabling the woman to rock her infant while she is attending to her chores. In some huts a stage 2 feet 6 inches to 3 feet 6 inches (0.8 to 1 m.) in height serves for roasting fish.

How far the *Western Bororo* mode of settlement conformed to the pattern described is not clear. Koslowsky (1895 b) merely speaks of a Bolivian aldea of some 20 huts with palm-thatched walls and roofs and a mat for the entrance.

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Children go naked. When initiated, a youth acquires a penis sheath, being thus qualified to witness the masquerades customary at funerals. On festive occasions, a decorative pennant is attached to the sheath. Men generally wear a girdle with shell disks, also a necklace of cotton thread, a bone pin in the lower lip, and ear ornaments. The hair is cut horizontally in front (pls. 90, *bottom;* 91); combs are made of bamboo rods held together by cotton plaitwork with designs. Body hair is plucked from the beard, the eyebrows, the pubic region, and the armpits. Women wear a gray perineal band,

/491 cont./

756 the latter "doutor." Let us confine ourselves to the term bari or medicine man. His training seems to be less ceremonious than is otherwise the case; it depends more on natural talent. During
[273] the dry season -- the name does not actually refer to thirst -- the most akurí palm wine is drunk; the trees are tapped, and the sap runs into a pot or mortar and is drunk from bamboo beakers. The wine is somewhat sour, but plentiful. Both sexes become as intoxicated as possible. The one who holds out the longest becomes the medicine man. If it is said of him that the birds of the forest understand him, that he converses with trees and with animals of all sorts in their language, hopefully that does not mean /492/ a medical man who is still inspired by palm wine, but refers to study in solitude and to the arõe song in which the animals are
755 called upon. The bari treats his patients in the well-known manner: he groans, writhes, smokes, and sucks the cause of the illness -- customarily a bone here -- out of the body of the patient. Two things should be noted, however: first, the bone is merely displayed and does not leave his hand, and the doctor gives treatments only at night.

Waehneldt reports correspondingly about the Bororó on the Jauru. Curing is done amid great clouds of smoke, unintelligible words, and, "the most important thing," convulsive movements: "I was present at the cure by such a padre, which consisted of his sucking at various parts of the body, and meanwhile he smoked his pipe and chewed up the mouthpiece. After each sucking he spit out the chewed-up pieces of his pipe, telling the patient that it
756 was the cause of his suffering." Furthermore--and now we come
● 784 back to the hunting booty -- a capibara pig had to be blessed in
825 the "sanctuary" by one of the four to six padres before it could be eaten or even touched. The baris cut off the best pieces and left the rest to the others.

On the S. Lourenço, too, the doctors likewise still lived in the golden age. It would be unjust to speak here of a delightful outgrowth of primitive hierarchy, for the bari was no "padre," but a "doutor" who merely did not yet know more than a "padre." The "consecration" was done in exactly the same way as the attempt to bring a dead person back to life. The logic is very

/492 cont./

simple. The animals primarily consecrated are precisely the same ones into which deceased baris enter, and the baris, after their death, transform themselves into the animals which are prized as the best game! Hence it is necessary to convince oneself that the slain animal cannot be brought back to life, and the consecration consists of this attempt. A large jahú fish was caught and brought to the men's house, a specimen almost one and a half meters long, which could not be roasted in one piece. A bari squatted down beside it, started to tremble violently, closed his eyes, vehemently shook his right hand pressed against his mouth, then began to blow and to cry vái vái, threw back his head and drew a deep breath, blew on the fish from top to bottom, tapped it all over, sprinkled it with saliva, opened the mouth of the animal, screamed and spat into it, closed it again -- finished. A procedure that was brisk and businesslike and lasted only three minutes by my watch. Then he seized a knife, cut up the fish, and took the piece that I, too, would have taken.

The animals that absolutely must be consecrated are the large fish, jahú, pintado sheatfish, and dourado, and the capybara, tapir, and cayman. The head of the tapir in particular requires the ceremony; no one but the bari may eat the tapir proboscis, /493/ which has the tenderest meat, and the back of the neck; of the other animals, too, the best belongs "to the bari and his friends," who divide it up after it is roasted. The system has also been extended to some fruits: pikí, mangabas, and maize, again the best tasting ones. In the case of akurí nuts the procedure is unnecessary; it has been done with maize only since the Brazilians regularly supply the colony with it. Indeed, a bari must be present when the animals are caught! If a fish subject to the official meat-inspection falls into the net when no bari is present, it must be released, and Clemente said that this actually happens, but only by way of exception, because there are always several bari and they are always present. A person who violates the custom will soon die. Cf. "transmigration of souls" below /see p. 646/.

Z:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

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PLATE 55.—Bororo bamboo basketwork. A: Ornamental. Front and rear views. (Courtesy University Museum, Philadelphia.)

[P.432-G]

6: Kodak C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963 SP8 Bororo SP8

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782
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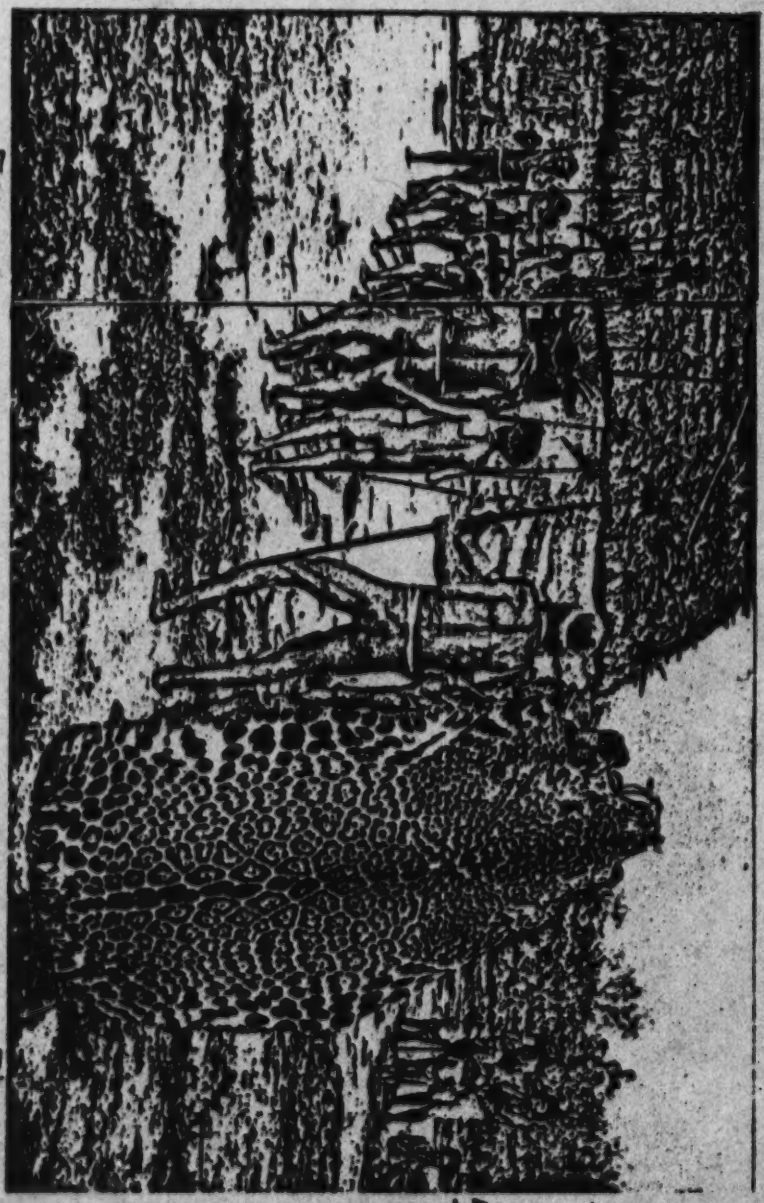

[Artist drawn to appear spirit of the commercial fish.-Analyst]a

[p. 43-C] a [For caption, see p. 43-B]

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MEDICINE MAN, at the left, holds rattle as he leads strenuous dance. Men and women jump, then kneel, to raise and lower palm fronds held between them.

6:Kozdk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SPB Bororo SPB

[p. 44-A]

/497 cont./

534 765 belonging to their new associate is being withheld, that in the future they therefore have nothing more to seek in the village, and then later when the bone-basket is disposed of and the deceased leaves the village. The underlying idea of all the ceremonies is the fear that the deceased will return to take away the 534 765 562 living. In the ceremonies undertaken to ward off this possibility, the weaker sex is apprehensively excluded. During this time the women run into the forest or hide in the houses. The signal for them is given by the whizzer stick, whose booming noise has a warning or uncanny character by nature. If they were present, they would risk the danger of dying. Up to this point everything 534 562 784 is logical and natural. Now, however, something more than is necessary happens; in connection with these practices there has developed a danger for the women at even the mere sight of the whizzer stick. They would die if they saw it.

000 Certainly a reinforcement of an exaggerated nature, but not at all incomprehensible. One finds similar exaggerations among our women in their fear of firearms; a lady whom I know held her ears when I showed her a revolver with an open, empty barrel and, in a state of excitement which refused to see and hear anything, begged that it be taken away because -- quoted strictly historically -- "it happens often enough that those things [828] go off even if they are not loaded." When the whizzer stick is heard among the Bororó on the two occasions mentioned, it corresponds to the loaded revolver; there is danger for both men and women, but the apprehension for the latter is greater because in general in the view of the Indian it is part of a woman's nature that she always weeps, "trembles," when animals, enemies, indeed, even waterfalls threaten, and that she is always in need of protection. Now if even the sight of the whizzer stick is dangerous for the woman, this is still partly the fear of the unloaded revolver, partly also a thoughtless form acquired by her as the result of the practice of generations, which is employed with anxious eagerness without examination. In exactly the same way Wallace observed in the Amazonas region that the women flee when the flutes of the jurupari-demon dance are heard, and he was

/498 cont./

000 from the women, they obtained the double assurance that the in-
534 quisitive sex will show fear and will stay away. Among the
562 Bororó the case is somewhat different; they are concerned about
784 the women. Among other tribes -- each case must be separately
171 investigated, since the striking correspondence could only be external -- it may be a matter of threatening the women with the death penalty, just as the Kulisehu-Indian woman would put herself in such danger to life and limb if she entered the flute house of the men. The statement that "the women would die" may have two very different meanings.

126 Among the Bororó it was almost impossible for us to obtain
534 whizzer sticks. The fear of improper use was only too well
784 founded in view of the attitude of the Brazilians. /499/ Wilhelm was urgently beseeched not to show to the women the whizzer sticks drawn by him. When we offered to buy them, the aídye were hidden. The men themselves, apparently, had a certain amount of fear when we spoke of these devices as of bows and arrows and any other objects of the collection; one of them turned away apprehensively when I mentioned the subject of aídye and clearly indicated that he would rather not hear anything about it; it was closely bound up with the fear of death. We achieved our wish only through three older boys, regular teenagers, who were as avid for small red beads as we were for the whizzer sticks. They carved and painted them out in the forest. Under cover of darkness the first one appeared in our room very mysteriously and demanded that we close the door and the shutters. Then the second one came knocking, and finally, the third one likewise. Each one had a whizzer stick
[688] hidden under a cloth; they whispered that we must carefully conceal them, women and children would die if they caught sight of one; they were particularly insistent that even the men -- the scamp Tobakiu was very much afraid of his father Moguyokuri -- should not find out anything, because they would "brabo" and would beat them unmercifully. We respected this argument and, before their eyes, put the three dangerous sticks in our trunk where it was deepest.